Most of the people of Tashkent are Turkic-speaking Sarts, in general exhibiting all the physical and moral traits and characteristics of the Sarts mentioned above, since Tashkent is the actual center of their area of distribution. There are only a few Tadjiks; these have mostly wandered in from Khodzhent/Leninabad and Fergana, and usually stay in Tashkent only temporarily as merchants or workers. Outside of the Sarts and Tajiks, there are in Tashkent only about a hundred Tatars, Kirgiz, and Bukharan Jews, as well as isolated Hindus, Afghans, Persians, Chinese, etc. 162

The male sex visibly predominates over the female, obviously a consequence of polygamy.

5. Political and Social Conditions, past and present.

As has already been mentioned above, at the time Tashkent was taken by the Russians it belonged to the Khanate of Kokand. Of the various Uzbek khanates arising since the beginning of the sixteenth century, only three survived until modern times: the khanates of Khiva, Bukhara, and Kokand. Of these only the first two have today retained a nominal independence, while the third since 1876 has been incorporated into Russia. 642

The political and social arrangements were the same in all the Uzbek khanates. (1) The ruling classes were formed by the Uzbeks, 565 554

1. The short-lived state set up by the Sart Yakub Beg in the Tarym basin was also organized in quite the same way as the Uzbek states of Bukhara, Kokand, Khiva, Kunduz, etc.

from whom the rulers came. But there was and is no real aristocracy. Only the brothers and sons of the actual khan enjoy a privileged position and bear the title 'tyura' or "Sir", a title which is also conferred upon the Russian officials and officers by the natives. This title, like the Kazakh 'sultan', is placed after the personal name. Otherwise only the /175/ mullahs or scholars are held in esteem; but these owe their prominent place solely to their erudition and not at all to their birth, for admission to the schools is open to all, regardless of origin. All other subjects alike, be they Uzbeks, Sarts or Tadjiks, are slaves of their khan, without rights, and he usually treats them all in the most arbitrary manner. Today he can raise a beggar and even a former slave to the highest post of honor, and tomorrow he may make him a beggar [641] 643 554

2: Caroe S-4 (no date) 1953 RL1 Soviet Central Asia RL1

sion of the facts. But from the beginning its existence made nonsense of the high-sounding phrases of the 1917 Declaration, and ensured for Russians a dominating position in Turkistan not as sojourners like the English in India, but as permanent settlers with the main stakes in their hand. In parts of Turkistan we shall even see that with the years the Russians ousted the native population and attained an actual numerical preponderance.

THE FIVE REPUBLICS

With this clue in hand it is time to take up the tale from the point when the Soviets, having destroyed the national governments of Kokand, Alash Orda and Bashkiria, and having come to grips with the Basmachis, were free to devote serious attention to the execution of a firm colonial policy. The picture will be clearer if we pass in quick review the measures which resulted in the eventual setting up of the five Soviet republics in the Central Asia of today.

The Kremlin inherited from Tsardom in Central Asia four units—(i) the Stepnoi Krai or Steppe Territory, roughly coincident with the northern steppe (northern Kazakistan of today); (ii) the Turkistan province with the Farghana Valley, Tashkent and Samarkand, covering most of Transoxiana and the Turkmen steppe; (iii) and (iv) the quasi-independent States of Bukhara and Khiva. (i) and (ii) had been directly administered under the Tsars, (iii) and (iv), as we know, were left in internal matters to their own Khans and during the interregnum had been the chief seat of the Basmachi troubles. As soon as the able Red General, Frunze, was in a position to report that conquest was secure and resistance only sporadic, Stalin announced[1] a territorial division which did not at first break entirely new ground.

The directly administered Tsarist provinces of the Steppe Territory and Turkistan had already been included in the

[1] Stalin, speaking on 26th Dec. 1922 to All-Russian Congress of Soviets. See *op. cit.* pp. 124–5.

2: Caroe S-4 (no date) 1953 RL1 Soviet Central Asia RL1

642 631 RSFSR [1] as Autonomous Republics (ASSRs); thus they had not attained a nominally equal status with the RSFSR, under whose wing they remained. Khiva and Bukhara were now declared to be *Peoples* Soviet Republics, the word 'Socialist' being omitted for the reason given by Stalin himself that they were not socialist.

> But [he added] I do not doubt, comrades, and I hope you do not doubt also, that these republics, as they internally develop towards Socialism, will also form part of the confederate State which is now being constituted.

The grim irony behind the words is clear enough.

By 1924 the way had been prepared for a further rationalization of the constitution of the Central Asian provinces. In September of that year, Bukhara and Khiva took Stalin's hint and declared their adherence to Soviet Socialism, and steps were taken to redistribute the territories on what was described as the national principle. By May 1925 these two, together with most of the old Turkistan province, had become the two full constituent SSRs of Uzbekistan and Turkmenia (Tajikistan was at that time given the rank of an ASSR within Uzbekistan). Thus the ancient States of Bukhara and Khiva ceased to exist. There was at least one Russian to regret it.

> Le Khorezm fut complètement éliminé comme état. . . . Jusqu'à quel point une telle mesure, qui s'inspirait du principe des nationalités, était-elle souhaitable? On peut en discuter . . . en ce qui concerne ses traditions historiques il restait un organisme visible et original, et l'anéantissement de cet organisme . . . n'aura peut-être pas été effectué sans conséquences.[2]

There remained a fringe of the old Turkistan province. By 1926 this had been united with the old Steppe Territory

[1] In what follows:
USSR = Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — the whole Russian Empire.
RSFSR = Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic — *i.e.* Russia proper, much the largest of the 16 constituent SSRs which make up the USSR.
SSR = Soviet Socialist Republic — *i.e.* one of the other 15 of the 16 constituent Republics, *e.g.* Ukraine, Uzbekistan.
ASSR = Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic — *i.e.* a territory with limited 'autonomy' within an SSR, *e.g.* Karakalpak ASSR within Uzbekistan.

[2] Barthold, *op. cit.* p. 192.

2: Caroe S-4 (no date) 1953 RL1 Soviet Central Asia RL1

as Kazakistan, but still as an ASSR within the RSFSR. Similarly, Kirghizia in its mountains became a second ASSR within the RSFSR. Thus by 1926 the name of Turkistan had ceased to exist, and the shape of the new map had begun to emerge. There were already the five republics of today, but two of them only, Uzbekistan and Turkmenia, had full constituent status. Of the other three, Kazakistan and Kirghizia remained ASSRs as part of the RSFSR, while Tajikistan had a similar standing as part of Uzbekistan. Of these three, Tajikistan alone rose to full constituent status as an SSR a few years later, in 1929.

Since then there has only been one significant constitutional development, and several adjustments of boundaries. The point of significance is that it took the eleven years until 1936 for Kazakistan and Kirghizia to qualify for full constituent status. The story of the disasters which accompanied this process belongs rather to the period of collectivization, to which we must turn later. Here it is enough to say that, apart from the fact that about one-third of the peasantry, in Kazakistan at least, was already Russian and therefore preferred to be included in the Russian State, the Soviets experienced the greatest difficulty in subjecting the nomads of the steppe and the mountains to any system which bore the stamp of Communist principle or practice. Dictatorial régimes have a traditional dislike of nomadism, which is hard to organize and eludes the tax-gatherer. Eleven years had to pass with devastating loss of human and animal life before the authorities could proceed to complete the pattern and bring Kazakistan and Kirghizia into line with the older republics as constituent SSRs.

FRONTIERS

A few minor boundary adjustments were made. What is now the Karakalpak ASSR with capital at Nukus was a slice of territory along the lower Amu Darya once part of Kazakistan and later transferred to Uzbekistan. It is possible that the setting up of this autonomous area was a belated Soviet

2: Caroe S-4 (no date) 1953 RL1 Soviet Central Asia RL1

177 by force if necessary, into settled stockmen under State control or wage-earners in factory or mine. That process was to come.

THE CONSTITUTION

642 631 The Party is not the only Soviet organ that has a centralizing effect. There is also the Constitution and the effect of an official economy admittedly centralized. The Supreme Soviet and its Praesidium (which sits between sessions and, subject to Party manipulations, has the real power) legislates over the field of the entire Union and controls a 'federal' budget about five times the size of the local budgets of all the sixteen constituent republics put together. The Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet therefore levies taxes in the colonial empire just as in any other part of the Union. Theoretically, the interests of the colonial areas can be put forward in the Second House of the Supreme Soviet (the Soviet of Nationalities) which, like the American Senate, represents each constituent state equally. But the five Central Asian republics together have a relatively small representation in this House, and in any case it is unknown for an issue of policy to be raised or voted on. The system of one-party rule forbids that. Each republic, like the Union, has its own Supreme Soviet (but in this case of one House) and its Praesidium, but, as the finance figures show, it exercises authority in a narrow field, and its ministers are subordinate not only to the local Soviet but also to the corresponding federal minister in Moscow. Further, there is a practice whereby, when a minister is of Turkish or Tajik stock, his deputy is almost always Russian, and there have been many instances of penalties exacted from leaders of local origin who have sought to stress a traditional nationalism. Here again we see an economy and administration rooted from the Centre.

EDUCATION

000 It might seem that this central emphasis conflicts with a policy of cantonization. But one form of effective central

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Turkestan RL 2

THE 'NATIONAL-TERRITORIAL DELIMITATION'

Soviet Central Asia went through many an experiment before taking its present shape. In the early years of Bolshevik rule Soviet Central Asia was still described as 'Turkestan', as it was under the Czarist Government. An Autonomous Turkestani S.S.R. was founded on May 1st, 1918. In addition there existed the 'Soviet People's Republics' (as distinct from 'Soviet Socialist Republics') of Bokhara and Khorezm, previously known as the Emirate of Bokhara and the Khanate of Khiva. These two 'People's Republics' were formally outside the Soviet Union and were linked with the Russian Socialist Soviet Federation by treaties of alliance.

Turkestan, Bokhara and Khorezm had a multi-national character. The population of Turkestan consisted of 41·4 per cent Uzbeks, 10·8 per cent Kirghiz, 10·3 per cent Kazakhs, 7·7 per cent Tadzhiks, 4·7 per cent Turkmenians. Khorezm had 61 per cent Uzbeks and 28·8 per cent Turkmenians. 98·6 per cent of all Kirghiz and 66·5 per cent of all Uzbeks lived in Turkestan, but the Tadzhiks were almost equally divided between Bokhara and Turkestan, while the Turkmenians were split between three territorial units: 43·2 per cent lived in Turkestan, 27 per cent in Bokhara and 29·8 per cent in Khorezm.

The Soviet régime considered that its task in Central Asia consisted in establishing national states for Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Turkmenians and Kirghiz. This was achieved by the formal annexation by Soviet Russia and partition of Bokhara and Khorezm and by the disbandment of the Turkestani A.S.S.R. This whole process was officially described as the 'national-territorial delimitation' of Soviet Central Asia. It was decided upon in principle in September 1924, and carried out by the spring of 1925. As an outcome of the 'delimitation' 94·2 per cent of all Turkmenians were allocated to a Turkmenian Soviet Republic, 82·6 per cent of all Uzbeks of the U.S.S.R. to Uzbekistan, 86·7 per cent of all Kirghiz to Kirghizistan and 75·2 per cent of all Tadzhiks to Tadzhikistan.[1] (These percentages do not, however, take into account those Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Kirghiz, etc., who are living outside the Soviet Union.) Not all of the newly formed national territories were immediately given the rank of fully fledged Soviet Republics. Tadzhikistan, for instance, was an Autonomous Republic within Uzbekistan until 1929, when it was raised in status. Kirghizistan, originally an Autonomous Soviet Republic within the R.S.F.S.R., became a Soviet Republic as late as 1936. In the same year, Kazakhstan became the fifth Soviet Republic of Central Asia.